14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
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able than the mission primness of the Tongatabu maidens, whose discreet deportment invites suspicion.

From the wharf one climbs a grassy slope, and straightway one is in the orange-groves. The whole town is an orange-garden. Beneath the dark shiny foliage lie piles of rotting fruit, half-concealed by the rank couch-grass. Some of the trees are bent with their green load, others are white with blossom, for the crops succeed each other with little intermission. Behind the long rows of trees nestle the brown thatched houses, set down, as it were, upon the grass like the toy cottages of a child.

There is no beach here. The shores of the inlet are steep to, and the main road runs along the edge of the cliff. On this road stands the "Palace," a barn-like decaying structure of wood, from which the paint has long ago been washed by successive rainy seasons. Poor Laifone maintained the place with magnificence,—that is to say, there were marble mantelpieces (never paid for), cut-glass decanters, china, plate, whips, walking-sticks, boot-trees, ornaments, and saddles scattered in heaps over the furniture and floors, very dirty and in indescribable confusion; while the royal master of all this luxury slept on the floor, ate his meals with his fingers, and drank his liquor simply from the black bottle without the intermediary of a cut-glass decanter. But now even those glories have departed, and the house is empty except when the king pays a flying visit to Vavau. Beyond the "Palace" were the stores, built on the seaward side of the road for greater facility in shipping copra, which comes next to oranges as the chief product of Vavau. These stores, kept by rival traders struggling for the custom of the passing Tongans, breed by

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
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their juxtaposition an inextinguishable hate in the breasts of their proprietors. Flung together in this outer corner of the world, the Europeans did not scruple to slander one another to the natives, a fact that would alone suffice to account for the low estimation in which Europeans are held in Tonga. A wicked slander has it that no fresh meat can be eaten in Vavau because a sheep is too much for one family, and no man is on good enough terms with his neighbour to ask him to share with him. These men are nearly all substantial traders. Living harder lives, and dealing with a more energetic class of natives, than their compatriots in Tongatabu, more than one of the Germans could, if he sold out, realise £20,000, made in a few years from a wretched little store built and furnished without capital. The Englishmen, here as elsewhere in the Pacific, were behind the Germans in wealth, as they were in industry and frugality, and as they were before them in the faculty of meddling in the local politics.

I found that for once there was something resembling unanimity among the traders of Vavau, who were generally too busy to care about politics, and paid their taxes without grumbling. The "Chamber of Commerce," revived in Tongatabu for the joint object of worrying the new Government and of helping the insolvent publican by holding their thirst-provoking meetings at his hostelry, had lately sent a delegate to their brothers of Vavau to invite their co-operation. The unwonted excitement of a public meeting and a real live political agitation was so new, that for the moment personal enmities were laid aside. There were even suggestions by some wild enthusiast that a

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563 441 "Chamber of Commerce" should be founded in Vavau itself; but though the more sober-minded renounced this proposal as impracticable, they eagerly assured the sister Chamber in Tongatabu that they might be counted upon for support in the righteous crusade against the Customs department. A deputation from the still-born Chamber of Commerce waited upon me the morning after my arrival. The fumes of the public meeting had had time to evaporate, and I found the deputation to be sensible fellows, whose views contrasted favourably with the intolerant resolution of the body which they represented. The good sense and moderation of the traders of Vavau is not to be measured by the ferocity of their language when convened in a public meeting,—a phenomenon not altogether unknown in other parts of the world.

Two of the traders, a Russian Jew and an Englishman, were accused by the police of carrying on an illicit trade [273] in liquor. The law of Tonga forbids the sale of intoxicants to natives under a heavy penalty, and it speaks well for the good sense of the people themselves that the native Parliament has always confirmed this wise restriction. British subjects are, besides, liable to penalties before the [589] Deputy-Commissioner's Court. Yet probably no offence is committed with greater impunity, owing to the difficulty of obtaining convictions when it is the interest of both seller and buyer to commit perjury.

000 I once tried a case in Fiji in which it appeared that the police had given an Indian coolie 6s. to buy whisky from a storekeeper, had watched him go empty-handed to the store and return with a bottle of the damning fluid in his hand, and had proved it by tasting to be nearly allied

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
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to "Cape smoke" and "Nail-rod." The trader was a respectable and God-fearing man, and he appeared to his summons clad in decent broadcloth and patent-leather shoes without socks. He swore with awful solemnity that neither he nor any of his men had sold spirits to the Indian; he even produced a number of his assistants to corroborate his statement. The coolie swore that he had deliberately humbugged the policeman, and that he had picked the bottle up in the grass on the way from the store. He found another Indian to swear that he had put it there, and the trader got off. Two years later he retired with a fortune.

To return from this digression. My Russian was a man of substance, and was reputed to be a man of his word; my Englishman was an old offender, whose sense of honour had possibly been blunted by the joint effect of the climate and his own stock-in-trade,—so the cases had to be treated differently. I sent for the Russian Jew, and got him to make a clean breast of his delinquencies. I showed him how the law had been enacted for the protection of the Europeans themselves, for, with his thirty years' experience of the Pacific, none knew better than he what sort of a community was a native mob in liquor. He grew penitent, and promised solemnly never to sell liquor to a native again, adding that if I doubted his word he would give me a bond for £1000. I declined this characteristic offer, saying that I did not doubt his word, and I believe that he justified my confidence. With the Englishman I made shorter work, simply telling him there was evidence to obtain a conviction, but that as the police had of late been so remiss as to cast a doubt upon the efficacy of the law, I

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should make them hold their hand until he neglected my warning, and offended again.

One of our first acts on landing had been to pay our official visit to the Governor, who had disobeyed and defied us. One always forms a clear mental picture of a person whose acts and utterances are familiar, and the picture is generally ill-drawn. I had imagined this truculent Free Churchman as a self-sufficient middle-aged

"Manase took it all in silence."

Tongan of the blatant kind: I found him a mild-mannered old gentleman, endowed with an apostolic saintliness of feature and expression that must have disarmed my colleagues had they not known their man so well. Manase was a chief of the third rank in Vavau, who owed his elevation to his zeal in persecuting the Wesleyans and his willingness to second Mr Baker in questionable transactions. Hitherto I had supposed him to have some

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his interests the hearts of all the patrons and their friends. After the benediction had been pronounced, the congregation walked thoughtfully home to cool down and face the future.

It is easy to sneer at the missionaries in the South Pacific as drones sucking the honey that others have stored; as ministers of the collection-plate rather than of the Gospel; as moral teachers whose grim code is responsible for the deterioration of native morality. The books written about the Pacific Islands have been the work of either missionaries or passing travellers, and hostile criticism by the latter has been in obedience to the natural law of reaction after the sometimes nauseous series of self-laudatory books given to the world by the missionaries themselves. Casual travellers, who hoped to see the natives in their primitive simplicity of manners, are disappointed to find them clad and in their right minds, and galled at the restrictions, apparently arbitrary and unreasonable, laid upon them by their spiritual guides. They have read much of the hardships of the missionary's life. They find him sleek and prosperous, the autocrat of his flock, living in a good house, travelling in a comfortable and well-found boat: they feel that an attempt has been made to obtain their sympathies under false pretences, and they write down mission enterprise a fraud, and the system a mere institution for raising money from the gullible native. In this extreme view they are supported by the Europeans of the place,—for traders do not love missionaries, regarding them as competitors who, besides crippling trade, interfere with their domestic arrangements.

362 Since these are also the best endowed areas for 'api tukuhau, the recent migrant is likely to build in indigenous material while those in paid employment can afford and are likely to build a house entirely of imported materials. Table V demonstrates that 43 per cent of those household heads living in houses constructed of composite materials and 53 per cent of those living in houses constructed of indigenous materials were employed in agriculture. Furthermore, of those living in composite housing only 30 per cent had been born outside Tongatapu.

[369] The overall design, internal and external arrangements of these houses differ little from those of the countryside and this again demonstrates the persistence of traditional modes of life within the town. Many houses adhere to the traditional apsidal or oval floor plan but even those with non-traditional rectangular floor plans are arranged to meet the flexible demands of sleep and entertainment. [593] Adolescent boys have a separate sleeping hut in keeping with the [343] traditional practice of brother-sister avoidance. Living, eating, [343] cooking and washing activities take place in separate buildings in [171] keeping with practices traditional to much of Polynesia.

511 Tongans living in houses of composite materials have more 184 copra driers on their 'api kolo, clear evidence of their active involvement in agriculture. They own more horses and carts, buy less [264] imported food than those living in large wooden houses. They are more likely to follow the rural practice of eating two and not three meals a day (see Table VI). Their women folk are more involved in the making of tapa in the kautaha koko'anga, in making other Tongan handicrafts, and are active in attendance at the fale hiva or choir house of the local church.

443 A town's bazaar sector, labour intensive and family directed, [369] is considered by some students of Asian cities to bear at least close resemblance to and have close links with the rural peasantry and therefore deserves some brief mention here. The bazaar sector in [433] Nuku'alofa is not well developed. This is because the Tongan economy itself is underdeveloped, consequently offering fewer opportunities. The main activities in the bazaar sector are small-scale trading from single room shops which sell at prices slightly in excess of the European firms from where they have purchased their goods; the hawking of handicraft goods mainly to tourists; and the sale of primary produce such as ground foods, kava, Tongan oil and shellfish.
443 In some cases the people involved are middlemen acting for villagers,
441 and one group, the fakafefine, have some form of loose cooperation which cuts across kin affiliations. The fakafefine (the word means "like a woman") work in teams, each team jealously guarding its round of customers. Some have groups of women manufacturing the articles they sell and most have trading arrangements beyond Nuku'alofa and

Table VI

Tongatapu

Diet, Possessions and Club Attendance

	House Types				
	Large Wooden %	Small Wooden %	Indige-nous %	Compo-site %	Average
Diet					
Three meals daily	75	52	28	43	44.5
Buy Imported food	56	31	31	40	35.4
Possessions					
Two or more beds	100	55	12	27	42.4
Motorised vehicle	44	17	0	7	14.2
Horse or Cart	38	38	34	67	43.5
Club Attendance					
Fale Hiva	69	52	53	60	56.6
Fale Kava	31	66	44	50	49.5
Fale Koko'anga	19	28	41	57	38.4
Total Households	16	29	32	30	107

Source: Household Questionnaire

Notes: The answers on diet refer to activities occurring at least three times weekly; those on club attendance involved at least one person in the household. Both types of wooden house correspond with "exotic"; the information on the larger houses is included for later discussion.

sometimes beyond Tonga. The fakafefine, however, are not typical. The unit of organisation (for most Tongans involved in the bazaar sector) is the family or people of the immediate neighbourhood. Rarely does involvement in the bazaar provide the sole or main source of income for the families concerned. It provides work and income for some members of the family while others are involved in agriculture and paid employment. Participation in these three areas of economic activity involve the total labour force of the family and ensure its greatest chance of economic well-being. Nevertheless, the bazaar sector in Nuku'alofa seems likely to expand as more wealth enters the kingdom and the indigenous market expands.[24]

nuku'alofa : readapted or transformed ?

McGee has suggested that "Some folk societies ... are

88: Thaman

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441

[For information on governmental trade boards, see Category 655.]

245 banana plantations. Nevertheless, the banana industry
[439] continues to be a major source of cash income to the Tongan farmer, and the 8 1/4 acre bush allotments continue to be the major suppliers of bananas to the Produce Board for shipment to New Zealand.

313 One important effect of the increase in banana production in the 1960's was the need for locally produced banana cases which put considerable pressure on the timber resources of Tongatapu as well as 'Eua and Vava'u. In fact, by 1968, the timber resources on Tongatapu had been reduced to such an extent that milling ceased and was shifted to 'Eua (Government of Tonga, 1969a:16).

241 There has been a continuing attempt by the Tonga
439 Produce Board and the Tongan Government to diversify export
655 crops and broaden Tonga's agricultural base. In the case of watermelons, pineapples, plantains, tomatoes, and bell peppers, which are exported through the Produce Board, the
241 results have been quite encouraging. Some crops are also
439 presently being shipped through independent marketing
[441] agencies to New Zealand, Fiji, Samoa, and the United States. These include mangoes, tomatoes, bell peppers, egg plant, green beans, ginger, yams, taro, and sugar cane. The export values for these products for the five year period from
[441] 1967 to 1971 are included in Table 23.[A] Most of these independent exporters are individuals or church or missionary societies, holding leasehold rights to large tracts of land

[A] [See Category 439, pp. 152-155--Analyst.]

241 439 [441] [655] on which the bulk of their exports are grown.

Most export produce is, however, shipped through the Produce Board, and a great percentage of this is grown on the individual bush allotments. Vanilla, which is an important export crop in Vava'u, is now being grown in the Ha'apai group and on Tongatapu. Experimental export of cantaloupe (rock melon) and strawberries have also been made, and schemes to export onions, garlic, and corn to Fiji are under consideration. In 1971, to encourage the production of other export crops, a laboratory was established and manned by a trained plant pathologist to study diseases and insects that are prevalent in the Kingdom.

242 439

443 Domestic Agricultural Income

The market place in Nuku'alofa, which began as a collection of periodic street vendors after World War II, evolved into a modern open-air facility known as Talamahu Market, which officially opened in October 1970. The market takes up four acres (1.6 hectares), contains 47 lock-up stalls, 80 tables, considerable floor space for additional sellers, toilets, taxi stands, and a bus depot.

443 438 The market deals primarily in native subsistence produce, mainly staple crops, vegetables, and fresh fruit. It also handles a limited amount of native fiber goods, tapa cloth, native medicine, beverages, spices, and more recently handicrafts. Some prepared food, firewood, shellfish, live pigs, and chickens are also sold outside the walls of the

443 market. Exchange is generally on a cash basis. A barter system.
438
[436] The market is open every day except Sunday, Saturday having the heaviest trading. On one Saturday, an estimated 350 sellers were present and approximately 2,000 buyers, who
443 purchased about $T3,000 worth of produce. Including non-buyers and socializers, people present may have totalled as many as 5,000 or approximately ten percent of Tongatapu's
443 population. A great variety of agricultural products are
438 sold at the market (Table 27). Some items such as rhubarb,
[244] okra, parsley, and certain varieties of squash are marketed
[241] solely by well-organized truck gardening operations,
[795] including the Mormon Church, but most items are grown primarily on bush or town allotments. Most sellers are part-
443 time or target marketers, who sell only when they have surplus agricultural products or are in need of cash for a
[444] specific purpose. The balance of the sellers, no more than 25 percent, are either representatives of co-operative societies and missionary societies or middlemen who buy products from individual farmers and serve as retailers.

443 In short, the market is: 1) a source of cash for rural people;
438 (90 percent of the sellers in the market during a study on January 22, 1972, were from outside Nuku'alofa); 2) an important food source for the increasing urban/non-agrarian population of Nuku'alofa (approximately 85 percent of the food purchased was purchased by consumers in the Nuku'alofa area); 3) an important source of firewood, Tongan medicine,

TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 174

443 The sale of Tongan handicrafts is also a major source
438 of domestic cash income. Handicrafts, which include items
such as tapa cloth, pandanus mats, pandanus and coconut
443 leaf baskets, seed necklaces, flower leis, and wood carvings
438 are sold through a Tongan woman's co-operative marketing
439 organization, the Langa Fonua, at Talamahu Market and other
441 locations in Nuku'alofa, in special stalls set up on the
485 government commons on days when passenger liners are in
port and select locations near points of interest to sight-
443 seers throughout Tongatapu. Although some handicrafts are
438 exported to Fiji, New Zealand, Australia, American Samoa
439 and the United States, more are sold locally.

Labor Organization

241 Out of 126 sample households with bush allotments,
461 there were 198 males whose primary occupation was working
on these allotments. The average work per week was 23 hours
241 per man and 36 hours per household. Although these men
476 mostly worked as individuals or with family members in small
[461] groups, the figures also include the hours of work in
organized communal groups or as wage laborers on agri-
cultural allotments. For tasks such as clearing bush,
planting crops, harvesting, making tapa, or building houses,
many Tongans prefer to work in communal groups rather than
as individuals or households.

[621] The most common working group is known as the kautaha

621 /106 cont./ The clergymen who conduct the numerous church
554 services and preside over the banquets (faka-afe) have been given
178 an important position in the village community. They may be followed
[793] in the new social hierarchy by the teachers who impart to the young
[875] the knowledge which is so esteemed, and the physicians (medical prac-
[759] titioners /cited in English/) who are experienced in the healing art of whites and know how to handle their instruments, medicines and pills in a manner secretly admired by a large part of the community. But there is also many a Tongan who does not hold an office yet plays an influential role because of his personal ability and skill (in his work as well as in his dealings with his fellow-villagers) and he can, especially in connection with acquired wealth, achieve greater respect in the village than that given to (usually younger) teachers
[888] and physicians. Old people are, as always, respected. People listen to their advice, and they have a superior position, especially vis-a-vis, the young. No major building project is carried out without the presence of a group of older Tongans who, in the form of a kava gathering, acknowledge and sanction the work of the younger ones.
621 Oddly enough, the Tongan traders who have their small (retail) shops
554 in the villages and have, after all, quantities of desirable goods
441 in their possession, /107/ do not experience the great respect that
178 is shown them in present-day Samoa, for example. However, if the
[191] merchant is a very special person he--along with his activity--will be respected accordingly. (297)

[875] 297. For example, the Tongan V., a pensioned teacher in 'Uiha, has a small shop; he is accorded more respect for his former position and popularity than for his present activity. The native S., also a former teacher, has two shops on Nomuka; he has a prominent place in the village community because he taught many men and women in their youth, for which reason he enjoys almost general popularity; also, the running of his shops is psychologically adroit and attuned to the mentality

/107 cont./

621 554 441 178

of his customers, so that he is also respected specifically for his activity as merchant. The owner of another retail shop in the same village has not been able to achieve a privileged position in the community on the basis of his occupation.

621 554 178 [177] From the foregoing discussion it will be seen that in the present-day village community of Tonga there is no generally valid social ladder. An individual may obtain a respected position in various ways. The changes in the social structure brought about by European influences have not caused a collapse of the old system, but have introduced a slow, yet steady development which weakened the old order in the community and brought new values. This process is not [565] yet completed; very probably the importance of the nobles in Tonga will decline even more, and intelligent and able individuals among the population as a whole will, to an increasing extent, become the influential ones--provided the nobles occupying key positions in the government will not try to impede this development. The social change in Tonga did not bring about a disruption of the community, since it was merely a transition from an old order to an almost universally acknowledged new order; people are now offering their old obedience, and their old willingness to submit to new authorities, and the aristocracy, largely for religious reasons, may have become accustomed to the "God-ordained" new order.

C. The State

a) Government Development and Present Structure

642 [177] The Tonga state underwent considerable changes as a result of European influence, specifically the Christianization of the Archipelago.

[643] [175] In ancient Tonga the state was centrally directed by the all-

/239 cont./

463 (or wages); the congregations pay their clergymen; and workmen are
465 paid in money for their services, by nobles as well as commoners
198 (or else their work is acknowledged with good food); in business, finally, /240/ Tongan employees are also paid, while the independent merchants earn money through sale activity.

463 Vocational specialization, however, is only a complementary force in the general economic life. It is far from dividing up the population into various professional groups. Almost all Tongans still master the tasks needed for life on the islands. (639)

639. That is to say, agriculture, fishing, simple house-building and boat-building, domestic animal raising and copra production; the women today also generally know how to sew articles of clothing.

441 Businesses were unknown in ancient Tonga, if one means by business
198 an independent activity continuously practiced with a view to economic gain.

Today there is business activity, in this sense in the Archipelago,
[181] but relatively few natives engage in it. In general, the Tongans
439 lack a sense of acquisition. For instance, when white visitors arrive with the monthly steamer in the ports of Nuku'alofa and Neiafu, the natives, even in these "urbanized" settlements, do not offer to sell them handwork (baskets, mats, fans, tapa, etc.), (640)

640. A recent exception are two natives who make tortoise-shell jewelry (rings, bracelets with silver inlay) specifically for this purpose (as handicraft).

and Europeans often have the greatest difficulty in getting a coveted "souvenir"; /cited in English/ usually they depart without such handicraft. (641)

641. Conditions on Niue Island (about 300 sea miles east of the Tonga Archipelago) are just the opposite.